608 "If you refuse to give me lodging or food, may the gihango kill you."

The two blood brothers then lie down on the mat side by side for a few moments to indicate that they will be indissolubly united in good as in bad days.

Then the one who is the visitor takes a handful of herbs and throws it on the hearth, saying: "If you come to my house and [18] I am away you may drink my beer and warm yourself with my wood, and may the gihango do you no harm, for you will not have wanted either to steal my beer or to burn my hut. But if my wife refuses to give you the beer and the wood, it is no concern of mine, for my wife is not bound as we are by the blood pact."

The abanywanyi then offer gifts to the witnesses such as hoes, necklaces, etc., and give each other presents of hoes, goats, and cows, according to their means, in order "to free themselves from the mat on which the blood pact has taken place," (kwichara ku kirago).

## CHAPTER II. MARRIAGE

### 1. Kinds of Unions

583 The word ugushaka (to have a wife) designates marriage in general.

The typical marriage with payment of a dowry (inkwano) to the girl's father is called kurongora.

A umugeni w'ubuntu (lit., betrothed given as a present) may [572] be given as testimony of affection to a friend. Later the man can give a dowry, but he is not obliged to do so. If the friends quarrel, [562] the dowry may then be reclaimed. A powerful chief can also give his mututsi client a young girl as a gift (umugeni w'ingororano).

• 587 To marry a divorced woman or a widow is called gutshyura umusumbakazi (lit., to bring home a woman who has already been married). These unions are frequent, especially among the Bahutu. When they start keeping house, the husband only gives the bride's paterfamilias a jug of pombe, but if the couple have children he must give a dowry. [19]

582 marriage is allowed between crosscousins (2), for the sister's children

> 2. Crosscousins are those of whom the father of one is the brother of the other's mother.

belong to their father's family. An uncle may never marry his niece.

Endogamy (kwisabira ku mugongo, lit. to find one's self on one's back) and exogamy both exist at the same time among the Abanyiginya. However, they may not marry the daughter of their brother or their sister. Similarly, they may not take a wife among the Abungura, the Abasinga, and the Abatshyaba.

●587 When a man dies, his father or his brother may marry one of his widows. Similarly, the son who succeeds him as head of the family may marry his father's wives, other than his own mother, on condition that they do not belong to his mother's family.

The husband of the deceased's sister may marry his sister-in-law (muramukazi), but not the latter's daughter (umukobwa wachu). Similarly, the brother of the deceased's wife may marry his sister-in-law, but not her daughter (umwishywa w'umukobwa). [22]

Marriage is permitted with the widow of a blood brother but not with his daughter.

582 563 The Batutsi may marry Bahutu women. For example, a patron might give his daughter in marriage to one of his clients of whom he is particularly fond. But an umugaragu is forbidden to ask his shebuja for permission to marry his daughter.

2. Impuberty.

582 In the past a young man and a girl could not get married before the age of twenty-five and eighteen respectively. A little girl (inshube) and a little boy (ingimbi) were sometimes betrothed, but they remained with their parents until the time of their marriage.

Nowadays a young man usually gets married when he is eighteen and a girl when she is fourteen.

584 3. Lack of consent.

The father chooses the wife for his son. If he is dead, one of his brothers takes his place in this undertaking. The son who is head of the family finds wives for his brothers and receives marriage proposals

428 Nzabandora is assigned Nyiramatama's field and banana plantation.

However, Shumbushu has the right to collect an itako on his brothers' property.

COWS, PASTURES. Usually the Muhutu does not own any pasture and, for even if he has one or two cows, they are inkazibiti and rarely imbata. These animals [69] belong jointly to the sons of the deceased, who go and ask a well-to-do Mututsi for permission to continue taking their animals to pasture on his land.

SMALL LIVESTOCK. The flock of goats and sheep is divided among the sons. The head of the family in addition takes the itako.

RUGO, CROPS. Each of the wives remains in her rugo and disposes of the surrounding crops.

WEAPONS, TOOLS. Are taken by the head of the family.

## Inheritance of a Mutwa

The inheritance of a Mutwa amounts to very little, a few goats and sheep, some tools and utensils. He may however own a small field (ingobyi y'urugo), or sometimes even a fairly large tract of land (igikingi), usually received for choreographic skill.

## 5. The Fate of Widows

●587 When the time of the kwirabura and kwera has expired, the widow (umupfakazi) may remarry.

If she accepts as her new spouse a member of her husband's family, such as the head of the family (except for her own son) (1), one of her

> 1. The son who is head of the family may take as wife one or several of his father's widows if they do not belong to his mother's family. An uncle may not marry his niece.

brothers-in-law (her husband's brothers), or her father-in-law, then the wife remains in the rugo where her new husband will visit her. No dowry (inkwano) is paid for a widow who remarries, and the wedding takes place without the customary ceremonies.

768 If the woman[1] refuses all offers of marriage in order to devote herself to the education of her children, she will be allowed [70] nevertheless to remain in her rugo. She keeps the inyarulembo cows, her servants, the field and the pasture she had received from her husband with the right to reap the benefits thereof. This property does not constitute a dowry for her but is kept by her provisionally. Actually she merely manages it in the interest of those of her sons who are minors and who stay with her. In this way she may continue to live in the same manner as in her husband's lifetime, with no fear of poverty. Furthermore, even when her sons take part of this property in order to establish themselves, they do not cease to show a tender solicitude for their mother and to provide for her needs.

If the widow wishes to return to her family, she must then abandon the rugo and its contents, except for her personal belongings. Her children must be left to the father's family as soon as they are weaned, that is to say, when they are about four or five years old -- unless the dowry has not been paid in full.

587 It may happen that a widow with children marries a stranger to the deceased's family. In principle, she is not forbidden to live in her rugo with her new husband. But these marriages, which are not well looked upon, are usually precarious. At the slightest difficulty, the deceased's relatives intervene, and the second husband is driven out without being able to carry anything away and is even obliged to abandon the children he has had with the woman.

768 As to the childless widow, she must return to her family unless she agrees to marry a member of the deceased's family.

1 [i.e., a widow.—Analyst]

## 6. Situation of the Widower

Usually the death of a wife does not bring to an end the relations of the widower with his family-in-law, especially if there are children born of the marriage. [71]

The parents-in-law have the option of giving their son-in-law one indorano cow (1) and sometimes even two.

1. The Bahutu give jugs of beer as indorano.

587 If the widower is left with very young children, the parents-in-law usually suggest to their son-in-law that he take one of their other daughters as a wife (2) so that the children do not have a stranger as

[765]

2. The widower may not remarry until after a month of mourning. During this time he does not shave, does not wash his clothes, and may not have intercourse with another woman.

stepmother. Far from claiming another dowry for her, they offer on the contrary an indongoranyo cow (3) which normally, however, is

3. A hoe, among the Bahutu.

the counterpart of the dowry paid.

A widower without children may claim restitution of the dowry. He usually does not do so because he knows that his parents-in-law, to avoid returning the dowry, will find him a new wife among their own daughters or those of their kin.

7. Guardianship of Children (4)

429
768

4. Cf. Personal Status, Tutelage and Emancipation, pp. 31 and 32.

The widowed mother who does not remarry outside the family continues to live in her rugo where she brings up her children until their marriage, which emancipates them, at least so far as the boys are concerned.

The son who is named head of the family actually replaces his father, provided he is old enough to do so. He has the same rights and obligations as his father, especially that of establishing his brothers (by giving them some indemano) and marrying off his sisters. If later one of his sisters happens to be repudiated, she takes refuge with her mother or her brother, who finds her a new husband.

If all the boys are minors, the paternal grandfather or, in his absence, the paternal uncle who seems the best [72] qualified is

## 2. Administration of Justice and Social Conditions

428 In the families of those Barundi (Batussi, Bahutu, and Batwa) who do not hold an office, the eldest son (or daughter) of the first wife is the secular and religious principal heir of the father. He inherits (kuraga) the largest share of the available family property, while the mother and the other children each receive equal shares of the remaining property. If the mother [429] is already dead and the children still small, the eldest son as the principal heir is expected to provide for them. If a 428 Murundi dies without children and leaves a widow, his brothers 768 divide his property among them, and the widow returns to her 587 family. However, a widow with children becomes the wife of the brother nearest to the deceased (levirate), and she and her children remain in the same house as before. The family stays together until the children are married and set up their own families (No. 19, p. 285). According to von Langenn, only sons receive the inheritance; they then support the mother and sisters. If there are no sons, either the widow or the daughters, as the case may be, are the heirs.

The eldest son also inherits the religious and professional 428 attributes and skills of his father. If the father was a priest 463 (kiranga), sorcerer, medicine man (umufumu), or blacksmith 868 (umususi), etc., the eldest son becomes -- or remains -- in the same position or profession by inheriting from his father the insignia and tools, in addition to the expert training. Thus, certain professions remain the prerogative of certain families. If the mother is an expert of some sort, she will pass on her skills to her eldest daughter.

428 If someone dies without leaving a family or relatives, the mutwale of the district in question inherits the property (No. 19, p. 568). Since no written laws of any sort exist, all law is 671 customary law, tradition, and usage. Every adult Murundi is 563 familiar with these customs, and if anybody infringes them, it is regarded as a punishable violation of the law. Even the king considers himself bound by them in his relations to the Batussi and only under exceptional circumstances [93] does he disregard

684 himself with driving the adulteress from the house. In Urundi
837 one generally does not find the laxity of marital customs which exists in several other Bahima states, for example, in Ankole and among the Massai, where the husband customarily lends his wife to any member of his kin group who happens to visit him. Even in Urundi, however, married Batussi women take much greater liberties with other Batussi men, particularly with members of the kin group, than do unmarried women. However, this does not apply to Bantu men (see p. 101).

586 For this and many other reasons, divorce and dissolution of marriage (uwuhakanji) are frequent occurrences. It is not unusual to find persons who have been married five or six times. Since on the average the purchase price of a bride is quite low and can also be paid back without much difficulty, men and women often use the slightest provocation to separate from each other. If a husband mistreats his wife, she leaves him and returns to her parents or to her relatives who then do not have to refund the purchase price to the guilty husband. [108] If, however, the husband drives his wife away because she is lazy, malicious, or even committed adultery, the parents of the wife have to refund the purchase price of the bride to the husband.

● [587] Persons who were divorced may remarry whenever they desire. In case of divorce, small children are left with the mother; of the older children the boys follow the father, and the girls go with the mother (No. 19, p. 174).

587 After the husband's death his widow (umufakasi) becomes the property of the brother or of the closest relative of the deceased (see p. 92 ), for when she married she was admitted into her husband's family.

587 In East Africa this so-called levirate is also customary
171 among the Sulu, the Wagogo, Massai, Turkana, Kamasia, Galla, Baganda, Banjankole, Banjaruanda, and others (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 384, 403, 412, 419, 428, 538, 541).

768 If the deceased has neither brothers nor other close rela-
736 tives, the widow returns to her own family and takes her minor

586 However, since this time another cow was denied, the man entered a suit for the return of the illegally retained cow.

If a woman no longer wishes to live with her husband, she 586 first goes back to her parents. She does not have a comfortable 587 existence there, however, for she is regarded solely as a beast of burden and as something unclean besides. Her father, above all, has visions of having to return the payments which he cannot refuse the husband. For this reason the woman usually does not stay long in her parents' home. After a certain time she moves away and settles with a man who does not shy away because of the dispute with her husband and her father. Once the woman has left her proper husband, she does not usually stay long anywhere and travels about according to her moods and the advantages she may gain. Thus a woman may change husbands several times within a few years.

586 In Mulera disputes between man and wife are said to be tried before a specially selected tribunal of older women and men. If public opinion is in favor of the wife who has left, the husband loses his right to be paid and must persuade her to return by offering her gifts. In this case, as a rule, the bribed relatives of the wife become the man's most vehement antagonists, for they do not like to see her wandering about in any case.

[227] The divorced wife retains her personal possessions and the dowry she brought to her husband's house.

578 The vagabond existence of women causes much disorder in 851 the life of small communities. Most quarrels, in Kissaka, for example, arise on account of the children. Here the Muhutu woman does not have a high purchase price, and consequently the children are more important than the wife herself. The children belong to the father's clan. The clan regards the children as reciprocity for the payment received by the wife's parents. If a man has impregnated a woman for whom he has not paid, his right to the child is apparently lost. The woman stays with him, however, and the child, at least as long as it is small, cannot be taken away from the mother. This involves a legal question which the batware [officials] must decide. If the man is powerful and has many followers, the question becomes very complicated. In this

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42



After the mourning the heir was purified by an elder of the clan, and he then took the mourning garment and buried it in some secret place. The mourners shaved their heads and hid the hair. A medicine-man decided whether the house of the dead man might still be inhabited or not. If the people were permitted to remain there, they, the place, and the pots had to be purified; but if they had to go they gave the pots and furniture away and left the house to fall down.

The heir was purified again by an elder of the clan and then went to buy a cow, which he took to the king, whom he was not on this occasion allowed to see. The next day he visited the king, taking a present of a young bull, and informed him of the death. This reception constituted his acknowledgment by the king as the dead man's heir, but if he proved unsatisfactory he might later be dismissed from the chieftainship.

The heir took all his father's widows except old women and his own mother. He even took widows with children, and the children regarded him as their father.

When a married man lost his father he lived apart from his wife for two months, and on the death of his mother he avoided his wife for one month.

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42



his bride-wealth, since his brother-in-law did not take her away, she went home when ill because she had no home. In any case, the Court adds, bride-wealth is not to be returned as a matter of course just because a woman dies. 586 691

In a third case a woman has died after bearing one child; the circumstances of death are not stated. The widower, reclaiming his bride-wealth, a cow, which by increase has become 8 head, in a village meeting, has been awarded 5 head and the woman's father 3. The widower has later taken one of his father-in-law's share to provide milk for the child, and now claims his right to retain it and receive the balance. The Court confirms the decision of the village meeting, on the grounds that although the widower has lost a wife, her father has lost a child.

(*d*) when a husband drives away his wife without due cause, or abandons her.

*Instances*: A man takes his cow, paid as bride-wealth, away, then drives his wife out of the house, and now reclaims the balance, 11 hoes. He is adjudged to have forfeited these.

A man reclaims 7 hoes, balance of bride-wealth of a cow and 7 hoes, from his brother-in-law, who has taken the woman when ill to a doctor and has not returned her. The husband is found to have seized the opportunity to take back his cow and to have abandoned his wife, and he is held to have no claim to his hoes.

A man claims 6 cows, the increase of one, paid as bride-wealth. It is established that after the woman had borne him 5 children, he emigrated, leaving her, and that she is still unmarried and willing to return to him. He admits in cross-examination that he wants the cattle, not his wife—and loses both.

Bride-wealth is also returnable when a woman, left a widow, declines to remain under the custody of her late husband's heirs, and goes to her relatives. But custody must be claimed at the time of the husband's death: in a case where this was not done, and the woman had gone away and remarried, the new marriage was allowed to stand, subject to the proviso that the child of the marriage would be a member of the family of the first husband when it grew up, if it desired. In one case, a man waives his claim to the bride-wealth in respect of the widow of his dead son, she having returned to her relatives. 587 768 851

On the termination of a marriage, the custody of children is always the right of the husband. If he dies, the right passes to his heirs: there 586 768 851

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42



her husband gave her no clothes. She is ordered to return to him, as she had made no complaint to her father. 586

A wife who went back to her relatives because her husband walked out of the house, saying it smelt, is ordered to return to him. 691

So with a wife who left her husband on account of his deafness.

And another who said that her husband was impotent, but could not satisfy the Court of this.

Another runaway wife is returned to her husband and told to sue before the Court at a later date if she has any concrete reason for disagreement with him, such as his failure to produce clothes or to work on the land.

The seducer of an unmarried woman is always punished and may have to pay compensation to her father. In one such case compensation is ordered on account of the girl being 'destroyed'. In the case, however, of the man who has enticed away a married woman or has willingly accepted a wife who has deserted her husband, there is no such uniformity of practice, and much depends on the circumstances of the case. Usually the man is punished or at any rate cautioned. 684

*Instances*: A wife leaves her husband and offers herself to another man. She is returned, much against her will, to her husband, and the third party is fined and informed that he will be imprisoned if he accepts the woman again.

An enticer offers the defence that he is willing to pay bride-wealth to the woman's father. She is returned to her husband, whom the enticer, as well as being fined, has to compensate.

A wife, having run away, is reclaimed by her husband, and the man to whom she has gone is punished.

But in four cases, he is only cautioned.

Sometimes the woman is returned without her unlawful partner being punished.

*Instance*: A runaway wife, pregnant by another man, is returned to her husband, in spite of her alleging against him that he deprives her of food and clothes, is always wandering, and has accused her of witchcraft. (The Court was probably sceptical of the veracity of so formidable an indictment.) The child, when born, is to belong to the original husband, but there is no further mention of the other man.

On other occasions, presumably when the husband has been at fault, the second partner is allowed to refund the amount of his bride-wealth and to retain the woman as his lawful wife. [586] [587]

8: Hall G-5 ( 1929-31 ) 1938 .FO42 Rundi FO42



586 691 587 837

*Instances*: A man has beaten his wife and driven away her relatives when they came to see him. She leaves him for another man, who is ordered to refund the bride-wealth.

A wife has left her husband and is now pregnant by another man. The husband will be satisfied either with the child or his bride-wealth. The paternity of the second man is established, and bride-wealth is to be paid over.

In several cases a woman's relatives are found to have married her to another man in her husband's absence, or after she has left him and returned home. Here again circumstances determine whether the first or the second union shall be dissolved. In considering these, the voice of the woman is not disregarded, and in one case, after judgement has issued in the original husband's favour, it is amended there and then owing to his wife's refusal to return to him.

586 661 Several marriages are found to be broken up on account of the Chief's seizing cattle paid in bride-wealth.

*Instances*: A wife goes off to her father's because the Chief has taken the bride-wealth cow.

A man from Urundi pays a cow in bride-wealth, which is seized by the Chief in order to recoup himself after some of his cattle have been stolen by Urundi natives: and the woman's father therefore takes her back.

In a third case, this right or propensity is deliberately made use of by a husband who wishes to shuffle off his wife. He arranges for the Chief to seize the bride-wealth cow with its two calves, and then sends his wife home. But the stratagem fails.

595 578 586 Finally, the existence of polygyny is to be referred to. That it may lead to disharmony in the home appears from two cases, in the former of which the first wife is so aggravated by her husband taking another spouse that she has assaulted him, while in the other a husband is brought to Court for tying up his second wife on suspicion of her having bewitched the first one, with a threat that he would kill her if the first one died. And a third husband finds himself heavily fined for being influenced by the predilections of his first wife. He had paid bride-wealth for a second: the first wife did not approve of the newcomer: her sister coming soon afterwards with a gift of beer, he kept her instead; she had already been promised in marriage, however, and he has to face an indignant betrothed as well as her father, in Court.

R. DE Z. HALL.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42



herself. A widow became the wife of one of her late husband's siblings or agnates designated by the inzu head. Usually an older brother of the husband was chosen. Among the Tutsi this resulted in a levirate: the first husband was still the pater of the children whose genitor was the second husband. Among the Hutu, in similar cases, the genitor was pater. A widower often married a younger sister of his late wife if he was on good terms with his parents-in-law, and if they did not require bride-wealth for the deceased wife's younger sister. This marriage was favoured because it was thought that it was appropriate that the children of the first wife should be brought up by her sister.

(*b*) *The bride-wealth*

Bride-wealth had to be paid before the wedding ritual, but payment could sometimes be delayed. In that case more jugs of beer had to be given.

There were some regional variations in the amount of the bride-wealth, but within one region it did not vary very much within each caste. Among Tutsi it was usually one cow plus some jugs of beverage, and one hoe. The bride-wealth proper was the cow, as the beverages were rather contributions to the different celebrations taking place at the wedding. Among Hutu it was one heifer or cow (which could be replaced by about one dozen goats) and a number of jugs of banana-beer. The following table indicates the average bride-wealth paid by Tutsi and Hutu in the central region of Ruanda. Among Twa bride-wealth was composed of a certain number of pots of beverages.

TABLE OF THE STANDARD MARRIAGE GIFTS AND COUNTER-GIFTS IN CENTRAL RUANDA

A. HUTU

| *Groom's inzu* | | *Bride's inzu* |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | one hoe, one jug of beer after agreement | |
| Father | ——————→ | Father |
| 2. | one heifer or twelve to fourteen goats (bride-wealth) from one to three weeks after 1. (*gutembutsa*) | |
| Father | ——————→ | Father |
| 3. | household equipment on wedding day (*ibirongoranywa*) | |
| Groom | ←—————— | Father |
| 4. | one hoe or one sheep or one goat + jugs of beer at the end of seclusion period | |
| Groom | ←—————— | Father |

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42



586 sufficient grounds, as in that case the wife had the right of cohabitation with one of her husband's agnates. Socially accepted grounds of divorce for a husband were his wife's neglect of domestic duties, or repeated adultery with a non-privileged partner. Sterility was not a reason for divorce as the man could always take another wife.

The divorced woman left with her only belongings—her clothes. Usually the husband gave her new clothes on that occasion. If bride-wealth and counter-gifts had been exchanged, nothing had to be given by either father. If bride-wealth had been paid, but not the counter-gifts, bride-wealth had to be returned except either where children had been born or where there were other marriage links between the two lineages concerned. If bride-wealth had not been paid, children went to live with their mother's kinsfolk unless their father paid the bride-wealth later. If bride-wealth was not returned and there were no children, the children borne by the wife in a following marriage could be claimed by the former husband.

Young children stayed with their divorced mother till they were seven or eight years old. They were then sent to their father's home where they were taken care of by another of his wives. Later on these children could visit their mother whenever they wished.

587 Divorced women usually married again easily. Their bride-wealth was lower and its payment was delayed till after marriage. But if it was felt that they were responsible for the failure of their previous marriage, then they did not always find another husband.

*(f) Celibacy*

589 Voluntary celibacy was unknown in Ruanda. Every man wanted to be married, to have children and a place of his own. Every girl wanted to be a mother. Those who were impotent (*ibiremba*) usually did not marry. Lepers (*ababembe*), the insane (*abasazi*), [582] and people ill with tuberculosis (*abanyagitundu*) were forbidden to [734] marry. Girls who had refused a husband often remained unmarried, as few men wanted to take the chance of being refused also. Single people lived with their kinsmen. Sometimes Tutsi bachelors were given a homestead and servants by their fathers.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42



Nothing was definitely left to the wife, the daughters or the affines. But the wife had the usufruct of the rugo in which she had been living while she still had young children to care for. Even when all the children were married, it happened frequently among Tutsi that the wife remained in the rugo till her death. This was usual when the widow married one of her husband's consanguineal relatives, or did not marry again. If she married a man completely alien to her former husband's patrilineage, usually she had to leave the rugo.

The father, before he died, had already given a share of the inheritance to each of his married sons, at the time of the wedding. Consequently, what was left at the father's death had to be divided among the sons who had not yet received anything. In principle rights to cattle as well as to land were equally shared. When bare ownership of cattle was divided between the sons of a lord, the clients of the father became clients of the son to whom the bare ownership of a particular cow or herd of cattle had been ascribed. When usufruct on cattle had to be inherited, the successors became clients of the people who had the bare ownership of the same cattle. But the lord had to agree on the choice of his new client.

In a polygynous family the principle of equality of shares held good for each rugo. Consequently the shares of the sons of the same father could vary considerably if the number of sons of each wife was very dissimilar.

The son chosen as head of the rugo had a supplementary share (*ingarigari*) as he had more economic responsibilities. Normally he received it before his father's death. This was called *gukubita itoko*, to stroke the thigh, meaning to give a favour.

Debts owed by the deceased were divided between his heirs, but the family head had to meet a greater part than the others. Judiciary fines were cancelled by the death of the debtor. When the deceased was creditor, the debt had to be paid by the rugo head who shared it with his co-heirs.

The father could also make a will and usually did. He could alter the traditional procedure within rather narrow limits, and for reasons regarded as valid by the patrilineage head or sometimes the political chief or the lord. A son who had been cursed was *ipso facto* disinherited. A son could be punished in the same way

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42



the honeymoon. The morning after the wedding, it can happen that the young bride will go out into the yard and announce in a loud, clear voice: "I did not come here to go to bed with another girl". She goes home. The boy's father knows that his son is impotent. It is the mother's fault. She must have allowed the dried umbilical cord to fall on the male organ of her newborn son. The cure also is up to her. The parents give their son a great deal of beer so that he will become drunk. The father then leaves the house, and the mother then has intercourse with the son in order to remove the impotence which her neglect caused. If the cure has not failed—and there is great confidence in the probable success of this remedy—the young couple will be reunited and remain together to face the other risks of married life.

When spouses fight, the neighbour-women give advice to the wife and the men to the husband. Both are encouraged to reform. If the wife has become seriously angry, she will leave and stay at her father's for a while. She tells her mother her reasons for having left. If she is wrong, if she has deserved the beating, or if she has refused to do work which a woman is obliged to do, her mother must correct her. Sometimes after two or three days, she returns voluntarily to her husband. However, she much prefers to wait for her husband to come after her and to have to explain his behaviour to her father. If it is the husband who is in the wrong, his mistake will probably cost him a handsome new length of cloth, some money, or some jewellery before his wife will consent to go back to him.

Sometimes the advice of the neighbours and the parents lead at last to marital adjustment. If not, there is a divorce. However, the Rundi say that divorce is no longer reasonable after a man and woman have had two or three children together. Their blood has been mixed. Furthermore, they have had time enough to get to know each other's defects. In addition, to divorce the mother of several children is expensive. The husband takes back the bride-price, but he must pay to have his children. A Tutsi has to give a heifer for each daughter and a bull-calf for each son. The Hutu do not always buy back their children, or else they must wait a long time before they have sufficient hoes or money to redeem them. Occasionally, a man prefers simply to abandon a woman. She and her children remain on the property that the husband has given her, and she must send her sons to stay with their father as soon as they are old enough to work for him. Because he does not take back the brideprice, she cannot remarry. A father may not accept more than one dowry for each daughter. If she wants to remarry,

she must get her father or another relative to intervene for her with her husband. If she cannot do anything, she remains married but abandoned. Or, it may happen that an unfortunate Hutukazi without relatives can no longer endure a bad husband or is sent away by her husband or left a widow without property. Women of this kind become vagabonds who wander about the countryside, often with children, and who often enter voluntary slavery for the sake of food and a roof over their heads.

In the household, the mother-in-law is the superior of her daughters-in-law. According to the ideal, she is like their true mother. According to the proverb: the daughter-in-law waits for her mother-in-law's death so that she can at last be the mistress in her own house. A woman has good reason to fear her mother-in-law. She may persuade her son to send his wife away. She can poison a daughter-in-law she does not like, or she can overwhelm her with work. Among sisters-in-law, there is little friendship. The first one to be married into the household has in principle priority over the other sisters-in-law. If the husband of the first-ranking sister-in-law has just made four mortars for grinding grain, his wife will demand all of them for herself. Each of his brother's wives, no doubt, will also demand all four for themselves. The first one will probably have all of them, and the hatred of her sisters-in-law will surely result. Or, a Hutukazi may receive cloth and bracelets from her husband newly returned from Uganda. She loses no time in showing them to her sisters-in-law. The latter promptly ask their husbands for cloth and bracelets. If a woman has many children, her sisters-in-law not so many, or if one of them is preferred by the mother-in-law, the one thus favoured by fortune will be the object of the hatred of the others. This goes on, the men complain, this just goes on and on. Each woman nags her husband. The same story and even worse is told of the wives of a polygamist. One of the wives of a Tutsi or Hutu will normally be kept as the permanent wife, with the privileges of seniority. The second and third wives are often no more than servants, farm labour and child-producing machines. They do not usually last very long. The bride-price is taken back to replace those who die without having produced children and those who run away. The *umutoni*, the favourite wife, is probably not the very first woman that the polygamist married. Although she may at a given moment be the favourite wife, she must exert herself to prevent another from taking her favoured place, as she probably took it away from someone else. A second or third wife who is stronger, more fertile, or cleverer may upset the order of precedence.

586 the child she is still nursing but leaves the older children with their
855 father. Once weaned, the child is sent to live with its father. The paternal grandmother or one of the father's wives will bring it up.
[587] If the divorced woman remarries and is again pregnant, she sends the weaned infant to his father with no visible regrets. If she is not pregnant, or if she has occasion to speak of her children by her divorced husband, she will express misgivings, for children are rarely kindly treated by a stepmother. She is also unhappy because she no longer has her daughters to help with the work. Moreover, it is nice to have children in the house so that one will not be lonesome. It happens very often that a woman who has many children will send a two or three-year-old to stay with its grandmother or an aunt who is sterile. Little children are really very much liked.

858 An *umuzungu*, an outsider, may be somewhat confused by the
862 typical Rundi combination of pragmatic considerations with very
593 tender sentiments. It seems a little paradoxical that Rundikazi love the infants they are nursing but pay no attention to children who have been weaned, except to wait for the day when they are old enough to work. In effect, weaning ends the only period of privilege
858 and pleasure before full maturity. The life of young people is a long
593 night of servitude under the exacting supervision of father and mother. In daily life, children have no importance as persons. The inferiors of their parents, they are treated as inferiors. Excepting in
[556] very wealthy families, they do not have enough clothing or blankets against the chill of their mountainous country. Children may go to bed without dinner, if the father and mother have eaten all the food or have simply forgotten about them in the midst of a quarrel or a party. Clever young people, nevertheless, learn how to profit
593 from the conflict of jurisdiction between the father and the mother.
[861] Both have the right to order the children to work. If a son disobeys his father, he will be punished by a beating or by being deprived of his dinner. An indulgent mother may very well give food secretly to her unfortunate child. If a boy disobeys his mother but he has worked well for his father—for example, he has taken good care of the cows, but he has refused to go for firewood for his mother—the father will not allow the mother to harm the boy. She will have to wait for revenge on the boy until her husband is away from home. The son, if he is intelligent, will find a way to make her forget her anger. Or, he may take refuge with his paternal aunt or grandparents, who are obliged to offer him asylum against her anger. A
[603] young girl cannot go for protection to her father, and she can avoid her mother's punishments only by putting herself under the

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42



protection of her grandparents. It is best if she is obedient and thus avoid blows and dinnerless nights.

Friendship between a woman and her daughter must wait until the latter is herself a mother. If a married daughter is kind, she will ask her husband for permission to go to help her mother during the busy season. From her married son, a woman expects presents. If he is too poor to give gifts, she will mock and shame him. If he arrives at her home empty-handed, if he comes back from a job in Uganda or the city without something for her, she will be enraged. It means her son does not like her, for he has not given her a present. However, an intelligent woman very early chooses one of her sons as her favourite—usually a different one from the father's favourite. She struggles on his behalf against the other children of her husband, above all against his half-brothers, the sons of his father's other wives. She protects his heritage, she does not remarry even if left a widow very early, she prevents the brothers of her deceased husband from taking possession of her husband's cows or from chasing her and the children off of her husband's property. A widow, particularly among the Tutsi, prefers to remain on the property given her by her husband without remarrying. She is thus finally independent of a husband's authority. To live where her favourite son lives assures her happiness. A good son, it is said, puts the happiness of his mother before that of his wife.

A full analysis of Rundi "Momism" is not possible here. It seems to depend in part on the biological and symbolic importance of food, which the mother gives or refuses at will; in part on the maternal sorcery of sacrificing her own interests for the sake of her sons; in part on the psychological power of which a mother assures herself during her son's infancy by making him very happy when she praises him and causing him great unhappiness and shame when she ridicules him. Children are, in any event, obliged to respect and love their parents, that is to say, to work for them and to obey them.

When a woman is at last a mother-in-law and grandmother, she has reached the high point of her life as a woman. A mother-in-law and her son-in-law, no matter what their caste, address each other as *umufasoni*, noble. Their relationship is one of highly formal respect, politeness of the highest degree, no jokes and no quarrels. A mother-in-law is the uncontested superior of her daughters-in-law. She orders them to work, she must be given respect, she chooses one of them as her favourite—the one who works the most for her, who is most obedient and docile. Towards her grand-